G. F. Hill
Hib. 5. 792. 25

THE

# PATRIOT:

A COLLECTION OF

## *ESSAYS,*

UPON

## TOPICS OF GOVERNMENT.

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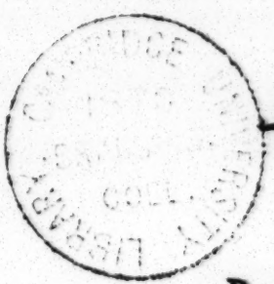
ME, SI QUIS USUS MEI EST, MELIOREM PACIS QUAM BELLI HABETIS DUCEM.

LIVY.

I AM THE HUMBLE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.



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*DUBLIN:*

PRINTED BY H. WATTS, LAW-BOOKSELLER,
NO. 3, CHRIST CHURCH-LANE.

1792.

08-368

## *ADVERTISEMENT.*

THE following Eſſays have at different times appeared in one of the daily papers:— By the reception which this collection of the nine firſt numbers ſhall meet with, the author may be enabled to judge whether a continuation of them would be a uſeful employment, or fruitleſs waſte of time.

THE

# PATRIOT.

NUMBER I.

SATURDAY, MAY 12, 1792.

———*Indomitam audeat*
*Refrænare licentiam.*———

HOR.

THE number of publications which have ſprung up ſince the late tempeſts in France, reminds me of a notion, that thunder-ſtorms, occaſioned large crops of muſhrooms.* In both caſes there is ſtupendouſneſs of cauſe, and punineſs of effect; whilſt the playfulneſs of fancy in purſuing the alluſion, finds, that muſhrooms are *haſty productions of a clod*; it finds that they are crude, and of flimſy contexture, and have heretofore furniſhed a vehicle for conveying poiſon to Princes.†

Two or three of thoſe funguſſes, thus ſtarting from the uncultivated rankneſs, and heated obſcurity

* See Juvenal, Satyr 5th l. 117.
† The Emperor Claudius was poiſoned in a diſh of muſhrooms.

rity of vulgar patriotiſm, have attracted my notice; and tended to produce this letter; which ſhall be followed by others, and is in the mean time to be conſidered as merely prefatory.

Who am I? That I ſhall not reveal: What am I? If Johnſon's definition of patriotiſm be a juſt one, I am a patriot; for I love my country. But if you derive your idea from the tenets of thoſe ſocieties which are ſwarming round us, I muſt fairly wave all pretenſions to the title.

I am not one of thoſe, who finding employment for induſtrious malice within the narrow circle of private connexion, ſend forth their languid philanthropy, to look abroad for vigour, objects, and occupation.

I do not deſert the clearneſs of domeſtic duties, to plunge into the darkneſs of civil obligations: I do not neglect my family, to ſerve my country.

I do not vary practical ſelfiſhneſs with ſpeculative benevolence; nor ſolace with patriotiſm the intervals of debauchery.

I do not think private baſeneſs the firſt requiſite to public virtue; but, on the contrary, regard diſſoluteneſs as the miniature of diſorder; and can magnify the minuteneſs of domeſtic excellence to the vaſt ſublimity of public worth.

To roll ſmoothly round the axis of private obligation, is the firſt aid we owe the harmony of the public machine. My faculties cannot exalt a rake to a patriot, nor diſtort a good man to a bad citizen.

In

In a pamphlet which I have lately ſeen, it is ſaid, that "it is not from the wealthy, attached to their preſent enjoyment, that commotion is to be apprehended. It is not from the induſtrious; a ſingle year of anarchy muſt prove fatal to their competence; it is not from the poor," &c. &c.

Now, though readers may be naturally tempted to wonder how public tranquility has ever been diſturbed; or whence tumults have ariſen, which cannot originate from any of the claſſes that compoſe a ſtate;—yet I doubt if the aſſertion be ſo falſe as it appears: I doubt if commotion is ſo juſtly to be feared from any of thoſe quarters, which this author has deſcribed, as from another claſs of men which he has forgotten to enumerate; who hold a middle place between the induſtrious and the rabble, and vibrate betwixt the oppoſites of reſtleſſneſs and ſloth:—they are a politer ſort of rabble. In this quarter muſt you look for the ſeditious efforts of modern patriotiſm.

Here you ſhall find the Forcing-houſe where the whimſical varieties of inexperienced greenneſs, grow and flouriſh: where idle turbulence bloſſoms into faction, and knits in fruits which our political climate forbids to ripen, and checks in their progreſs to bloodſhed and rebellion.

Uncertain as I am whether this prefatory letter will obtain admiſſion to your paper, I ſhall conclude more abruptly than I otherwiſe might—with ſaying that it depends on your ideas of patriotiſm, whether I would have you admit my claim to the title of

A PATRIOT.

## NUMBER II.

### SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1792.

*" Minime mirum eſt, communicatâ cum his republicâ,*
*" fideles eſſe, qui etiam expertes ejus, fidem ſuam ſem-*
*" per præſtiterunt."*

CONSIDERING the ſituation of this country, at preſent, I know of no more material ingredient in one's politics, than his opinion on what is called the Roman Catholic queſtion :—I ſhall therefore proceed to give you mine.

The paſſage from Cicero, which I have choſen for my motto, is an inlet to my ſentiments. That great man thought that advantages produced attachment; that to communicate benefits was to promote loyalty.

That I ſhould agree with Cicero none will be ſurpriſed; and that his abſtract reaſoning is here applicable, none can deny; but, like every thing abſtract, it is only applicable to a certain degree. The denſity of ſurrounding circumſtances, by refracting the rays of elemental truth, may pre-

vent

vent their falling upon caſes which would ſeem to be within their influence. Cicero was aware of this; and to the abſtract principle he added a peculiar exiſting circumſtance, viz. *the experienced diſpoſitions to fidelity and good order of thoſe people to whom new privileges were extended. Minime mirum eſt, communicatâ cum his republicâ, fideles eſſe, qui etiam expertes ejus, fidem ſuam ſemper præſtiterunt.*

Thus, conſiſting as it does of blended principle and fact—is not the reaſoning of Cicero, peculiarly applicable to the caſe of the Roman Catholics? When examined, it will be found drawn from *political expediency*; and it is from ſuch an wholeſome and rational ſource that I would derive all arguments in their favour. Cicero built none of his political concluſions upon *Rights of Man*:—nor do I. He, in his higher ſphere of connexion, left ſuch doctrines to Mark Anthony; and I, in my obſcurity, reſign them to Thomas Paine.

It has, therefore, been with grief that I perceived the mild hopes of the Catholics, cheared by the mad cries of the ſeditious: the malignant policy of deſigning Atheiſm, proffering the hand to ſuffering Chriſtianity—and the beſeechings of ſubjects for privileges of citizens, drowned in the claims of rebels, for Rights of Men. I am a friend to Catholics, but I am a friend to order; I am a friend to Catholics, but I am a friend to the conſtitution; I am a friend to the Catholics, but I am a friend to religion.

I rejoice at the extenſion of privilege which they have obtained; and I hope to ſee their privileges yet farther extended: but I qualify my hopes, and ſtill more my expreſſions with deference to

that Legiſlature, the invaſion of whoſe privilege is the ſurrender of my own.

I am united to the Catholics by the common bonds of religion: (as contraſted with *irreligion*:) I am not of their church; but we are varieties, alike belonging to the ſublime claſs of Chriſtianity. That I ſhould be their friend, is to be accounted for on principles compatible with religion and good order. The policy which ſhould unite two brother Chriſtians, in order to oppoſe a barrier to the irruptions of infidelity, ſeems pretty obvious. But what ſhould unite the Atheiſt with the Catholic? What, but that deceitful cement of *miſchievous intention*, which, having firſt produced a temporary coherence, will ſoon explode, with ruinous diſunion!

Acquainted, as I am, with the advantages of our conſtitution, I wiſh to ſhare them as extenſively as is compatible with its ſafety; I therefore mean, to conſider the queſtion of a conceſſion of privilege to the Roman Catholics, upon the grounds of its expediency, with reference to the complete ſecurity of our conſtitution.

Some of the facts from whence the inference of expediency or inexpediency ariſes, are theſe:

1ſt, The numbers of the Roman Catholics.—— 2ndly, Their ſhare of the national property. 3dly, The political tendency of their religious ſyſtem. And 4thly, their apparent diſpoſitions to order, or the contrary, as collected from their paſt *and preſent* conduct.

Firſt, Upon their numbers they ſhould not be fond to dwell: the circumſtance *taken alone*, proves only

only that all benefits which *can*, with safety, *ought* to be extended to this numerous body. And if qualified with the further hypothesis, of unfriendliness to the present establishment, it becomes an argument subversive of their claims. If the boast of numbers were a threat of violence, I should observe, that when numerousness excites audacious importunity, paucity should produce cautious fortitude.

No doubt those civil benefits for which society was instituted, should be scattered widely: but this general principle of wise benevolence is not applicable to a case where the more numerous body is suspected of disaffection to the present state of things.

Whilst men stand indifferent, their affections should be courted, by concession of benefits, to present establishments; *id firmissimum longe imperium est quo obedientes gaudent*:* But having once ascertained the disloyalty of subjects, you should not give them privileges which amount to powers of disturbing the State to which they are disaffected. I say privileges which *amount to powers*; for I admit that even in cases of ascertained disloyalty—it may be prudent to bestow privileges upon the disaffected. It will be justice to do so, where disaffection has been provoked by a proscription from civil benefits;—but this extension must be gradual and cautious.

We *have* already conferred privileges upon the Roman Catholics. The present question regards the measure of our concessions.

I say, then, to my Roman Catholic countrymen, that superiority of number is bad ground whereon



* Livy.

to ſtand. *Alone* it is inſufficient to ſupport their claims. Add to it that they are well affected; and its aid is unneceſſary. Suppoſe them ill affected, and their numbers make againſt them.

For, ſuffer me to repeat, that if in the firſt inſtance, political inſtitutions ſhould *aim* at ſecuring the attachment of all bodies, by the liberal gift of benefits to each; yet ſuppoſe any of thoſe bodies *already* hoſtile, and then there is every reaſon for proſcribing them, under the reſtrictions I have above pointed out.

Their hoſtility was all we had originally to fear, or, by the conceſſion of advantages, intended to prevent. Now that they have declared war, we are to conſult our own ſecurity, by ſhutting the gates of our conſtitution. We ought ſtill, indeed, to leave our diſſentient countrymen in the enjoyment of life, liberty, property, and every benefit *that is extrinſic to the Government*; but we ſhould remember, that *political privileges* are powerful weapons, and muſt not be put into the hands of enemies.

I am next to conſider the ſhare which Roman Catholics have of national property, and dignities, amongſt them. And in this reſpect the ground they ſtand upon is firm. From their rank and wealth in the country, as from a commanding eminence, they can point out to the Legiſlature various grounds of *expediency* which ſhould produce them an encreaſe of political privileges.

Here the wiſdom of the Legiſlature is apparent, which has given them landed intereſt, as a foundation for further privileges. We have let them

ſettle

ſettle and improve in the out-ſkirts of our conſtitution, till by ſafe degrees they ſhall become citizens with ourſelves. They are not a ſet of mendicant diſturbers, who have daggers wrapt in their petitions for civil liberty; whoſe patriotiſm is a poiſonous precipitation from fermenting poverty and turbulence; with whom Rights of Men are the war-hoop that leads to plunder and to carnage. They are now mingled into the ſeveral orders of the State; and individuals amongſt them have acquired intereſts, if not ſeparated from thoſe of their perſuaſion, connected at leaſt with thoſe of *our* eſtabliſhment. They have their hierarchy and their peerage; their landed eſtates and monied intereſts: they have the patronage of wealth, and clienteſe of poverty, all ties upon their loyalty.—They have that ſyſtem of ſubordination, and wholeſome circulation of dependancy amongſt them which prevents inteſtine fevers, promotes tranquillity, and connects their body intimately with ours; by ſeparating the intereſts of Catholic individuals from thoſe of their *religion*—to bind them up with thoſe of their *rank*.

This graduated variety of rank and fortune amongſt the Catholics, analogous to that which is found amongſt ourſelves, is, in my mind, highly favourable to their claims: it eſtabliſhes a natural connexion betwixt us.

Similarity in worldly purſuits, connects men more ſtrongly than conformity in religion. The obſcure and envious Catholic will be apter to remember with malignity, that his ſplendid neighbour is a Peer, than to dwell with complacency, on the ſameneſs of their faith. The tradeſman will forget that his rival is a Catholic; and in the neigh-

neighbouring proteſtant will only ſee a cuſtomer. To this there may be exceptions, but the rule is generally true; thus in the Roman Catholic body there is a conformity of ſubordination, that connects them reſpectively with us; there is a mutual repulſion of individual and wordly intereſts that prevents the cement of religious prejudice from forming a maſs, that will cruſh, or even threaten the intereſts of Proteſtaniſm.

3dly. With regard to the tendency of their religious ſyſtem, I have to obſerve, that it is the hierarchy, which with us principally connects Church and State; and therefore (conſidering the natural connexion between religious ſyſtems and ſyſtems of Government) that Roman Catholics do *politically deſerve* to be ſingled out for favour, from the other Diſſenters from the Church Eſtabliſhed, whoſe clerical democracies ſuit ſo ill with the principles of mixture and ſubordination that pervade our conſtitution. And as to the ſubordination of Roman Catholic clergy to a foreign power—I ſhould look upon the conſequences drawn from this doctrine, even though the doctrine were not denied, to be mere bugbears.

The reign of ſuperſtition is no more. When Papal power ſhould pull one way, and national and domeſtic intereſts, ties and connexions, ſhould pull another—which of the two would at this day prevail?

But 4thly. The good conduct of the Roman Catholics ariſing partly, perhaps, from cauſes that are noticed in this letter, gives the ſtrongeſt and moſt pleaſing claim upon our kindneſs. Yet I preſume not to ſay, that the Legiſlature has been too ſparing of indulgence. On the contrary, I repeat,

that

that in cafes fimilar to the prefent, it is wifdom to convey an *intereft* that fhall produce a *contented fondneſs* for the conſtitution, before you beſtow a *privilege* that might enable to diſturb it.

Where the quiet of an empire, and permanency of ſubſiſting eſtabliſhments are concerned, no caution can be exceſſive.

And caution dictates that we ſhould *raiſe* attachment by the conceſſion of *benefits*, and *cheriſh* its growth by the conceſſion of *powers*.

I hold, then, in general, that Roman Catholics deſerve our favour. The extent of our conceſſions I leave the Legiſlature to define. I will not pronounce that they have had enough; indeed, I hope to ſee them obtain more. But enough they have had to excite their gratitude: and a contented thankfulneſs for what has been beſtowed is the ſureſt proof that they are entitled to receive more.

Upon themſelves depends the enabling us to beſtow on them the more valuable and intimate privileges of our conſtitution; and juſtifying our conceſſions upon the large and benevolent principles of political expediency, to ſay with Cicero, whilſt we enrol them amongſt our citizens, *ſapiens mirum eſt, communicata cum his republica, fideles eſſe—qui etiam expertes ejus fidem ſuam ſemper præſtiterunt.*

## NUMBER III.

## SATURDAY, JUNE 9, 1792.

*Sibi conſtet.*

SOME late occurrences have ſuggeſted the ſubject of my preſent letter; in which I mean to examine the nature of that *Conſiſtency* at which men ſhould aim, or of which they may be proud. If years attended by experience and habits of reflection, lead to wiſdom, it is not by the path of youthful folly. He, therefore, who in age goes limping along the road into which early inexperience chanced to thruſt him, as he plunges in new crimes, and ſtumbles on new follies, may ſhout that "*he is conſiſtent*;" he ſhall have no praiſe from me.

When the line which you have taken is a wrong one, if you do not deviate you will not improve; and therefore to perſiſt is not always to be conſiſtent, or elſe to be conſiſtent, does not always merit praiſe. If my poſitions ſhould appear to be more true than applicable, and more obvious than neceſſary, I anſwer, that to judge from the conduct

conduct of ſome men, we ſhould ſuppoſe they thought conſiſtency intrinſically meritorious;—without regard to the acts which it concern;—and that as to the obviouſneſs of any maxims, we more frequently need to be *reminded*, than *informed*.

Mr. Pitt has been lately taxed with inconſiſtency:* Perhaps juſtly; perhaps not: I care not; except as he is connected with public welfare; and but uſe him as an inſtance to illuſtrate my opinions: Purſuant to which I muſt pronounce, that the facts found againſt him do not aſcertain his guilt. According to the quality of thoſe meaſures which he has deſerted; his deſertion, (call it by what name you will) is deſerving of our cenſures, or entitled to our praiſe.

To warmth and youth, to enterprize and inexperience, things will not appear in the ſame point of view, in which they are beheld by coolneſs and maturity, by ſatisfied ambition, and acquired experience. Times may be ſo altered, that conſiſtency of motive will be ſhewn by change of conduct. The quality of *actions*, *abſtractly*, muſt be aſcertained, before we ſettle claims which are founded on *coherency*.

The indiſcriminate purſuit of conſiſtency is dangerous. It impedes improvement. Men dare not to inveſtigate or relinquiſh any meaſures, leſt by acting rightly they might act inconſiſtently:—as if rectitude was diſpenſed with in favour of perſeverance: or that he who earns blame by doing wrong to day, ſhall merit praiſe by perſiſting in the wrong to-morrow. You ſhall ſee ſuch men



* In forſaking ſome meaſures towards parliamentary *reform*, on which, when a young man he was warmly intent.

swallowing inconsistency of *principle*, in order to preserve consistency of *conduct*. You shall see them leaping o'er the truth which obstructs their way, to land safely on the falsehood which lies at the other side. No matter what their object is.—Their claims to praise are founded on their obstinacy.

Beware the attempt to shew, that if their conduct be persevering, their maxims are inconsistent.—Irritate them not by opposition. Dread the weight of impending dullness; nor remove that temper which is its prop.—Break not down with arguments the dam which confines their eloquence; or expect to be overwhelmed in the spluttering heat—the dull glitter—and heavy volubility of fluent lead. Hope not that in time the torrent will abate; and you and reason rise above the tide:—

"*Expectas dum defluat amnis; at ille*
"*Labitur, & labetur—in omne volubilis ævum.*"

For when shall that oratory cease to flow, which needs not an ear to supply its stream?

But to return:—Young minds are often overheated in pursuit of an object they desire to be liberty or what else it may. Should they thus be betrayed on the commission of any imprudent measure, or the maintenance of any mistaken notion, must they forego the advantages of further experience, consideration, and reflection? Must their early errors be their errors for life? And the follies of their youth be their follies in old age? Or, must they for ever continue to forfeit all title to consistency?

Yes! say those, whose opinions I would controvert; but let us turn from this new-fangled quality, to that consistency which is truly honourable—that union of private worth with public virtue, of which I treated in a former paper. That regulation of our actions, and correction of our errors, by the standard of good sense and consistency within us—that harmonious order, in which the public and domestic character respectively revolve round a common centre of wisdom and of virtue. That consistency which all should aim at, none can attain, for its attainment would be perfection.

When I see men whose private life is a motley chequer work of flattery to those above, and oppression of those beneath them, join the chorus of societies whose business is to groan over the pictured miseries of their poorer countrymen; and to demand for the vulgar, that boisterous licence which they have thought fit to dissipate with the name of liberty, I am tempted to call such conduct inconsistent: doubtless it would be so, if the zeal of these political free-thinkers were sincere; but while I look upon such gangs as but the hirelings of sedition, and their efforts to be no more connected with real feeling, than the howlings which pursue a funeral, I doubt if I am not too hasty in acquitting them of inconsistency. Their public conduct should be virtuous, to be inconsistent with their private conduct, which is base.

Yet while I am contending against the sacrifice of actual goodness, to imaginary consistency, and though I must confess that a consciousness of approbation towards Mr. Pitt, can scarce keep from that obstinate consistency which I glory to

I will avoid my disgust at the treachery with which his former associates and partizans are now endeavouring to extricate themselves from this falling fortune.

Those whom I have heard, not many months ago, loud and zealous in their praises of his principles and writings, have now "sold to him and fled." Without their confessions? And why this disguise? Because the train which he has laid will not communicate with the mansions, and they would not be involved in the ruin of the wicked and deluded traitor. But we have not forgotten their testimonies in his favour. Examples shall be drawn from the obscurity of their snuff-shops, to reproach them with their desertion of principle. From counters and desks arisen, they shall call out vengeance for violated constancy and injured Paine.

And what can these reply?—but that interest being still their principle of action—to desert a friend is to act consistently!

My notions on the subject are different from theirs; but lest you should suppose me of the sect of Academicks, who oppugned the doctrines of others without declaring their own, I shall say, that we must investigate the motives which produced his conduct, since calls to us for praise on the score of his sincerity: the quality is indifferent, unless with reference to the merit of those acts which it concerns. For who shall applaud that fatal sincerity which draws out sudden ruin on the heads of unwary youth—to deliberate folly, or habitual baseness? Who can deny, that the sincerity which kindles the good affections to another, and makes virtuous counsels prosperous, is deserving of praise—even to admiration!

How I

## Number IV.

SATURDAY, JUNE 23, 1792.

*"Aut fuerunt, retroque cadit res perfida in Republica, nec "eis quem patria movuerit.* LIVY.

*More mindful of their own, and party intereſts, than anxious to promote the welfare of their country.*

LIBERTY! Manufacturers were always remarkable for their flowery diſpoſitions: nor have thoſe whom I now deſignate by that name departed from ancient uſage; but irritated by our neglect of thoſe homely doctrines, the beſt their hafty ignorance could ſupply, ſally forth to hack and diſlimb the well wrought politics which we have imported from the wiſdom of ages,—the example of hiſtory,—and the conſtitution of our country. Nay, the cry has been tranſmitted from clamorous weavers to clamorous politicians; and now, as of old, at the ſound of "hey for the Liberty"* we ſcour'd a pace, and away to avoid the approaching diſturbance.

If I have twirl'd this thought to a conceit, at leaſt I have been laughing on the ſide of truth; for I hold it to be no leſs true than ludicrous, that the

* The cry of the weavers, when running through the ſtreets to cut mul-berry &c.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY 1870 BRADSHAW COLL.

claſſes which I have parallel'd, are in fact not diſſimilar.

Diſorderly from meanneſs; reſtleſs from idleneſs:—moveable from levity, noiſy from emptineſs:—zealous from ignorance:—poſſeſſed with an active indolence which ſhuns the toils, yet covets the attainments of induſtry; this is their *common character*.—Weaver or politician is the *accidental difference* ariſing from their various lines of life; according to which they are at war with conſtitutions, or with calicos; with preſent modes of dreſs, or preſent forms of Government.

Indeed I obſerve that the *manufacturers of civil liberty* are, almoſt to a man, of humble origin:—now ſince rags have been known to breed faction in the ſame manner as rottenneſs generates worms, this lowlineſs brings them within a ſuſpected claſs; and it is therefore material that their countrymen be apprized of it: it goes to their credit: otherwiſe than thus, it is not diſgraceful.

"*Pater tibi ſit Therſites,—dummodo tu ſis*
"*Æacidæ ſimilis.*"

But neither may it be unuſeful to themſelves to adminiſter this wholſome ſuggeſtion of their meanneſs. The memory of their extraction will aid them to throw up that windy vanity which now diſtends them, and excites a falſe appetite for more fame than they can bear. *Praiſe* is ſtronger food than he imagined who contraſted it with "*ſolid pudding*;" and thoſe are powerful talents which digeſt it: on weak minds it reſts an oppreſſive load; or quickly ſours to deriſion and contempt.

For

For making of *mock patriots* the receipt is neither difficult nor tedious. Take the firſt vulgar boy you meet whoſe countenance glitters with dull vivacity. Be ſure that his conceptions are mean, and his diſpoſitions ſelfiſh, his ſentiments coarſe, his habits vulgar, and his ignorance preſumptuous. See that he poſſeſſes that obſequious impudence not uncommon with our countrymen; and of which one does not riſque the loſs by a journey into Scotland. Send him thither. *Let him take a haſty ſnack of ſcience, literature, and metaphyſicks at three ſwallows. Thence to Paris, to ſtudy Religion under Condorcet, * and Government under Cardo; †—whence, lo! he ſhall return to his longing country, to ſnatch the manifold honours which await him. A graduate in deiſm, he is qualified to enter on the profeſſorſhip of tumult; he is ready to aſſume the proud name of PATRIOT; and ſkilled to develope the myſteries that lie hid in the tetragrammaton which terminates this ſplendid title. ‡

Some indeed there are, whom this deſcription will not ſuit: who moving in the loftier circles of diſtinction, are not aſhamed to animate the fierceneſs of the factious: traitors to their rank for the advancement of their power; and traitors to their King for the ruin of their country. To theſe I ſhall apply the words of a wiſer man than myſelf; extracted from a letter with which he § lately honoured me, and deſcriptive of their motives, of their conduct, and its conſequences.—"The diſ-
"charge of peccant matter muſt have its courſe;
"and will continue as long, I am afraid, as the
"diſeaſe from whence it proceeds has matter to feed
"it:

* The extent of whoſe attachment to chriſtianity is well known.
† Ci-devant dancing-maſter, now a legiſlator.
‡ Rat.
§ Mr. Burke.

" it : I mean the ambition of certain deſcriptions
" of men to diſtract the ſociety, in which tho' they
" are not without their proper ſhare of attention,
" *they think they do not poſſeſs all the importance to*
" *which they are entitled.*" †

Muſt the ſtandard of freedom be reard by none but theſe ? Let the wiſe and good cry out *Reform*, and I ſhall gladly join in the honourable purſuit ; " *Sed mihi ad hujuſce verbi vim & interpretationem*
" *vehementer opus eſt veſtra ſapientia : verſatur enim mag-*
" *nus error, propter infidioſas nonnullorum ſimulationes ;*
" *qui quum populi non ſolum commoda verum etiam ſalu-*
" *tem oppugnant & impediunt, oratione aſſequi volunt ut*
" *populares eſſe videantur.* *

In every caſe of political doubt which I have not the means of inveſtigating thoroughly, my rule at preſent is to take the oppoſite road from that which I ſee choſen by our reformers : a conduct which I admit expoſes me to the danger of " miſtaking reverſe of wrong for right ;"—of narrowing too much the baſis of my patriotiſm ;—and falling in with the ariſtocrats by ſhrinking from the mob.

To damp the ardour, and repreſs the efforts of the truly patriotic, is not indeed the leaſt obvious, or leaſt fatal amongſt the tendencies of faction ; at whoſe clamorous approach the good citizen muſt abandon the fields where his virtues uſed to range ; and retire within the citadel of party ſpirit.—When faction has torn ſociety in pieces, patriotiſm muſt ſelect

† See alſo upon this ſubject p. 68 and 69 of Mr. Burke's *reflections on the French Revolution* ; and p. 109-110 of *the Appeal*.

* But I have need that your wiſdom ſhould define the force and meaning of this word : for abroad there is much error ; owing to the inſidious pretences of thoſe, who whilſt they combat the advantage, and even ſafety of the people, yet acquire by their harangues, the reputation of

Cicero.

ſelect which fragment it will preſerve. When the civil pile has fallen to the ground, the patriot muſt ſeek ſhelter in ſome corner of the ruin.

So long as he is not forced to regard ſociety diſunited, he has no inequitable leaning to ariſtocracy. Nay, the tenderneſs and dilation of his benevolence, find in the numbers and diſtreſſes of the multitude, ſomething whereupon they are fonder to repoſe. Whilſt ſociety holds together, the ubiquity of patriotiſm is not to be confined to the details of party, nor impriſoned within the boundaries of rank. The furtherance of partial intereſts may form its *means*; but univerſal welfare is ſtill its *end*. It regards ariſtocracy but as a member, though perhaps the nobleſt of the ſocial body: It diſapproves the jealouſy which ſets a man at variance with his limbs; and will be apt to treat the ſyſtem of *equality*, as a project to reſtore the patient's health by cutting off his head. In the mind of the patriot, the gradations of rank are blended to indiſtinctneſs: there, oppoſite intereſts converge and coaleſce, 'till they glow in the focus of *love to his country*. *Colours* are not diſcriminated in the body of the ſun; nor *ranks and intereſts* kept aſunder in the mind of *Edmund Burke*. They are loſt in that dazzling maſs of natural or political light which pervades the phyſical or ſocial world; and from which ſuch diſtinctions reſpectively proceed.

The nature of thoſe abuſes to which I point my ſatire, leads me rather to animadvert on the *factious* than the *ſervile*: but do not ſuppoſe me wanting in contempt for theſe. The preſcriptions which I ſend ſhould be ſuited to the nature of the ſymptoms which prevail. But if you would have my judgment on the danger of thoſe maladies to

which my *country patient* is expoſed; I perhaps ſhould ſay, 'twas better ſuffer from *faction*, than from *ſlaviſhneſs*; the one *may* throw off impunities; the other *can* but impair ſtrength.—*Malo periculoſam libertatem quam quietum ſervitium.* *—I prefer a fever to a lethargy.

But does there not lurk a falſehood beneath the analogy which I have choſen? Are not faction and ſervility rather ſymptoms of the ſame diſeaſe? occurring at an earlier and a later period, but threatening both the exiſtence of our freedom? The one is the delirium with which the malady commences; and the other is the langour that terminates in death. The danger they produce differs only in degree, and is meaſured by that progreſs of diſtemper which they announce. Faction is indeed on no account more formidable than as it thus is the forerunner of that deſpotiſm which it ſeems to thwart; (*ut ferme fugiendo in media fata ruitur*;) † nor ſhould it ever be forgotten by thoſe who wiſh the welfare of their country, that civil diſcord is the ſure prognoſtick of national ſervitude.

Theſe are the conſiderations which clothe faction in its terrors. Exult not then ye toadeaters of the great, to ſee me laſh the toadeaters of the mob. I treat you better, becauſe I fear you leſs. The tyranny you worſhip is leſs horribly powerful than that which the factious would ſet up in its room: your numbers are leſs great, and your improbity leſs active and miſchievous than theirs. You are leſs dangerous, by being more contemptible.—But ſuffer me to illuſtrate the impartiality of which I boaſt

* The ſentiment of a Palatine at a Poliſh Diet.
† Livy.

boaſt, by ſketching an ariſtocrat *of the order of ſervility.*

Though its claim be now preſcriptive to the ownerſhip of his character, yet the loyalty of DESPOT was originally accidental. The unoccupied emptineſs of his mind, and uncultivated coarſeneſs of his morals formed an *hæreditas jacens* on which *ſervility* or *faction* were at liberty to ſeize; an early connection with men in power turned the ſcale, and ſtamped his character. His helpleſs and famiſhed mind devoured every ſentiment their bounty could beſtow; whilſt his provident indigence hoarded ſcraps which might ſupply the emergencies of the future: * He was a beggar of the opinions which fell at his maſter's table.—Theſe, heated by zeal, ſeaſoned with pride, and ſerved up by inſolence, in that conſiſtency which by rotting together they have acquired, form the naſty regale to which he treats his friends. That narrowneſs of faculty which gives him no field to range in, but by ſtraitening him on the ſides compels him to move forward, he has thought proper to denominate *ſtraight underſtanding*; thus mediately glorying in his own imbecility. That thickneſs of intellect which ſees nothing in detail, unable to dilute, he has dignified with the title of ſolid *ſenſe*; and would ſneer at the diviſion of a bedſtead into teſter and poſts, or a table into legs and plank, as the flimſy ſubtilties of metaphyſical analyſis.

DESPOT has been neceſſarily fortunate in life. His talents needed only the direction they have taken to enſure ſucceſs. With all that ready officiouſneſs of little and dependant minds; that active zeal which ſprings from ignorance, and that

friendly vanity which ſtrengthens weakneſs; that watchful aſſiduity which is ever in the way; and that meanneſs of ambition which accumulates preferment, by ſnapping at the offers which his betters had refuſed, how could he miſs his road to greatneſs?

Whilſt pride told himſelf he was fitted to command, experience told his maſters he was willing to obey; and obſequiouſneſs raiſed him to the higher ranks of ſlavery.

Yet, not having purſued any liberal profeſſion, he holds no place of truſt, civil, military, or eccleſiaſtical; but his ſplendour ariſes from a conſtellation of petty offices and profits; to which his keenſighted avarice is continually adding the minute luſtre of ſome new emolument.

Never quick to diſcern the delicacies of virtue, either public or private, his intereſts have long ſince thickened the obſcurity; and he is more corrupt than he knows himſelf to be.

Here was a ſoil not unſuited to the growth of faction. But, *jacta eſt alea*; that preſumptuous ignorance which might have clamoured for the moſt is now hired to ſupport the meaſures of Adminiſtration. That zeal which might have thundered in exploſions of ſedition, now glows in the ſofter permanence of ſervility. He is now a link in the galling chain of deſpotic ſubordination; he is now a *vulgus aſſiceras* for life. To that ſyſtem of chicane which ſuits with his morality, and that miniſterial juggle which he miſtakes for the Conſtitution;

tion; his ſympathies are linked, and his attachment is inviolable.*

Deſpot has now retired from the buſtle of public life; and unleſs when his attendance is required by the miniſtry, to render thoſe *baſe ſervices* by which he holds their favour, reſides at his country ſeat; where, not fretted by that refinement which would ſhun the company of ſquires, nor burthened with that learning which would make him odious to his neighbours, nor injured in his property by compaſſion to his tenants, he paſſes his time in diſtreining for rent, ſaving money for a peerage, and ſwallowing bumpers to the Proteſtant Aſcendancy.

Yet, we ſhould not perhaps, attribute to rebels or to ſlaves, all that guiltineſs of intention which their overt acts imply. That they are thrown into different walks is the conſequence of chance; that they have miſſed their way in each, is the effect of imbecility. Zeal, the daughter of ignorance, was their primary conductor; improbity but a ſecondary and ſubordinate guide.

Hear my voice then, ye ſlaves of greatneſs; and attend to my words ye inſtigators of faction: ye are more nearly allied than you would have it believed. Abettors of arbitrary power, you differ

* Difficile eſt proprie communia dicere.—It is difficult to appropriate to an imaginary and individual character qualities ſelected from the maſs of human actions and diſpoſitions. If I had not ſcrupulouſly rejected every feature, which by exiſting in the mind of the reader the idea of an individual, would turn fiction into libel; I might have drawn this character with more energy and point.

† If the reader would ſee the likeneſs of a Patriotic Ariſtocrate, the champion of Freedom, Property, Arts, and Subordination; he will find one, *inadvertently* portrayed by a maſter, in a work called, "*Reflections on the French Revolution.*"

fer only as to where it ſhould be placed. †—If your excuſe be not included in the following poſitions, where ſhall it be found?

Ignorance is ever zealous. This is natural: for to ignorance that ſeems certainly good, and eaſily attainable, of which knowledge doubts the advantages, and perceives the difficulty. To ignorance, that ſeems ſimple and uniform, which knowledge ſees to be complex and heterogeneous. The doctrines of ignorance are perſpicuous by being ſhallow: thoſe of knowledge are more opaque by being more profound. What wonder, if ignorance be zealous and headlong—and knowledge be cautious and heſitating? Diſciples of faction, your ignorance has produced your zeal, and you are excuſable.

I will go a ſtep further towards your juſtification. If ignorance produces zeal, zeal, in its turn, enhances ignorance; thus, the ignorant and zealous man walks blindfold in the dark. Diſciples of faction, your intrinſic ignorance has been aggravated by the acceſſion of your zeal, and thus you are the more excuſable. But though you be pitiable, you are miſchievous. Vermin, as ye are, you may gnaw through the meſhes which confine the lion rage of a rabble, and let looſe upon us. Impregnated with more ſalt than your writings could ever boaſt,—the ſcrap of touch-paper, which ſpits and ſtinks by the way ſide, may communicate with combuſtibles to ſet the city in a flame: It is, therefore, not too contemptible to be trodden under foot.

† See Number 7.

## NUMBER V.

### SATURDAY, JULY 7, 1792.

*" This is a ſtrange repoſe; to be aſleep*
*" With eyes wide open: Standing, ſpeaking, moving,*
*" And yet ſo faſt aſleep."*

TEMPEST.

SINCE the firſt introduction of periodical writings, it has been the conſtant and undiſputed privilege of their authors to dream with a degree of method, unknown to all but themſelves. Servants of the Muſes, they looked to female patronage, and could not hope for nights of idleneſs.

I therefore claim to " ſleep with my fathers;" to dream with no leſs accuracy than they have done; and to inherit thoſe air-built caſtles which make ſo principal a part of an author's patrimony. Nor ſhould the mock-patriots conteſt my right to this *inconpereal hereditament*; ſince, who more viſionary than themſelves?—like their ragged brethren of the Highlands, they have a *ſecond ſight*, which, overlooking actual goods, ſees air-drawn miſchiefs, and falls upon ſubſtantial calamities, to avoid

avoid unreal forms, which fumes of faction aſſume as they exhale.

As I was lately thinking upon a ſubject for my next letter, my meditations inſenſibly ſtrayed to a reverie, which led to a ſlumber, that ſeemed ſuddenly interrupted by the ſtriking of oars upon water; and raiſing my head, I found myſelf on board a ſmall boat, in a ſpacious harbour, making for the neareſt point of land. The ſhores on either ſide were pictureſque and cultivated, and at the weſtern extremity of the haven lay a town,* which, reflecting the rays of the ſun as it roſe, was gradually lighted up to a moſt dazzling brightneſs. Whilſt I was admiring the brilliancy of this natural fire-work, our boat reached the ſhore, and we diſembarked. When as ſurpriſe is not an emotion uſually excited by any occurrences of a dream, (however uncommon one might think them when awake), I calmly enquired of the mariners upon what coaſt they had landed us;—who had ſcarcely informed me that this was the Iſland of Liberty, when I ſaw the Goddeſs herſelf deſcending towards me from an adjacent hill. She was habited like a mountain nymph, and in her look there was a mingled expreſſion of ſpirit and mildneſs that was extremely attractive. In her right hand ſhe held a wand, from whoſe point there iſſued a bright and ſteady flame; and her left graſped a ſcroll, which, as ſhe came nearer, I diſcerned to conſiſt of the Great Charter, and the Declaration of Rights. She was accompanied by the Genius *Reknu*;† and followed by a troop of negroes, wearing upon their heads the badges of acquired freedom.

She

* D————n.

† I leave the reader to ſolve this anagram.

She welcomed me to the island with acknowledgments of my zeal, and hopes for my success: lamented that Faction was not yet driven from her territories; and having recommended me to the care of the Genius Reason, suddenly left us.—Reason turning upon me a countenance that beamed with intelligent benignity, offered to be my guide whilst I should ascend the height of Government, and reconnoitre the motions of faction. Within view of where we stood, three great roads, striking from different quarters of the island, and gradually converging, ended in a common point at the Hill of Government, and were thronged with passengers on their way thither;—concerning whom I remarked, that whilst upon two of the roads they were habited in black, and other gloomy colours, those upon the third being arrayed in scarlet, and all armed, made a most lively and brilliant appearance.

The country which lay between, filled the eye very agreeably. Broken into inequalities, sheltered with trees, and glittering with streams of water, intersected by enclosures, and scattered over with buildings—it shewed all the gradations between plenty and profusion, neatness and grandeur, competence and riches—proclaiming throughout, diversity of wealth, with equality of comfort.

Shunning, therefore, the bustle of a public road, we sought amongst these retreats a passage to the hill, guessing our way along by-paths, from which, as they lay among groves, and on the banks of rivers, or rills, or hollows, through scenes of rich cultivation, or elegant retirement, the eye unwillingly endured those glimpses of the hill, and

the highways, which broke transiently upon this rural scene.

During our journey, we sometimes met the emissaries of Faction, who, preaching insurrection to the little groupes they were able to collect round them, assured their audience, that, notwithstanding those appearances of plenty, freedom, and security, with which they suffered themselves to be deluded, they were, in fact, a set of the most miserable, oppressed, abject wretches existing, and must so continue, unless they would quietly desert their tillage, and *gang awa to London*, aid some patriotic citizens, who were employed to level the Hill of Government, which they asserted not to be a *natural* excrescence, but an *artificial* mound, thrown up by some Norman invaders, to awe the people.

I could not observe that those preachers were very successful;—the country-folk seemed to listen to them with a sort of contemptuous astonishment; and except some ragged strollers, who, abhorring industry, and wanting occupation, went with them upon the high-road, they made no proselytes.

One indeed there was, who, by means of a simplicity of expression that resembled truth, and a flutter of style which might be mistaken for eloquence, had not only attracted a pretty numerous audience, but was listened to with uncommon, and dangerous attention. This man, as we drew near, betrayed symptoms of embarrassment; and

after making a ſudden pauſe in his diſcourſe, to my great ſurpriſe, reſumed it to this effect :—

*P. S. The reader will take notice that I am ſtill aſleep, and ſhall dream through another paper for his edification and amuſement.*

## NUMBER VI.

## SATURDAY, JULY 21, 1792.

*(Dream continued.)*

" *Difficilius eſt exitum, quam principium invenire.*"

CICERO.

" *You do yet taſte*
" *Some ſubtleties* O'THE'ISLE, *that will not let you*
" *Believe things certain.*"

TEMPEST.

" ARE you then the dupes of ſuch ſhallow ſophiſtry as mine? When I hold up America for imitation, are you deluded? whoſe *cheap* Government ariſes not from wiſdom of inſtitutions, but ſcarcity of money. Do you not perceive, that if your country were leſs flouriſhing, your Adminiſtration would be leſs coſtly? ſince preſent expences are not the exactions of oppreſſion, but the overflowings of wealth;—or can you regret that thoſe days are paſt—when government was cheap and liberty precarious; taxation light,—and property inſecure?

" Is not the boldneſs with which *I* defame your conſtitution, a proof of the free principles which pervade it?—In ſuch incendiaries as myſelf, behold the malignity of exceſſive and ple-

* thoric

" thoric freedom!—yet it is the ſupineneſs of
" your Government which permits us to ſcatter
" flames. We are *anſwered* by the ſpeculatiſt,
" when we ſhould be *ſilenced* by the magiſtrate;—
" you ſeek to *convince*, whom you ought to *coerce*;
" —to perſuade, thro' their *reaſon*, whom you
" ſhould controul, thro' their *fears*."

His audience having liſtened to this new movement in the ſonata of his eloquence, long enough to ſatisfy the wonder it excited, were now diſperſing, when turning to *Rebub*, to remark upon ſo ſingular an harangue, I obſerved his arm extended, and ſaw ſomething in his air and manner, which explained to me that 'twas he, who, by means of an over-ruling influence, had forced the orator to utter truths which it was his intereſt to conceal.

We were now drawing near the *Hill of Government*; and as we approached the confluence of the three great roads, our landſcape, though enriched with ſtructures of more ſplendor, had proportionally loſt of that ſoothing privacy, and ſimple elegance, which charmed us at our outſet; being interſected by many croſs-ways and expoſed to clamour and interruption, from the neighbourhood of Ambition, Politics, and Popularity. To our left, however, we perceived a ſmall wood, to which, beſides its promiſing a renewal of that retirement, from which we had unwillingly emerged, and affording a paſſage of ſufficiently gradual acceſs to the Hill, we were yet farther attracted by a ſoft and harmonious ſound, which iſſuing from thence, was borne to us upon the ſame winds, which ſhook the trees with a gentle agitation. Thither, therefore, we directed our ſteps, and aſcended the Hill through the *Groves of Science*, where Wiſdom

was

was refreshed with the streams of Bounty, and Literature reclined beneath the shade of Patronage. In these retreats *Rebus* was known and honoured; but Curiosity forbad our stay, and we issued forth upon the Mount; which, thrown up by Nature, and improved by Art, wore the appearance of somewhat between a fortress and a hill.

It was thronged with people, gaily dress, and all in motion; some labouring up with assiduity, and others rolling rapidly down, amidst the beatings of those who had kept their footing better: the whole forming a coup d'œil, which, for aliveness might be compared with that, which Greenwich-hill presents upon a certain festival.

We now turned our eyes to the right, and overlooked the distant plains of *Fashion*. They were covered with a thick fog, composed of vapours exhaling from the morasses of Ignorance, and smoke arising from the furnaces of Sedition; but the darkness was interrupted by meteors of Pleasure, which, starting from the soil, kindled as they rose, and glaring through the mist, moved towards the most dangerous parts of the morass, where they hovered for a time, and then vanished with a loud explosion, leaving their followers plunged in irretrievable error. Beyond, lay the *Seas of Anxiety*, a dreary tract, heaving with perpetual storms, and exposed to inundations from the Ocean of *Inanity*, which roared in the limits of our horizon.

On the nearer side of the plains of Fashion, at the foot of the hill, we were led through [illegible] upon several [illegible] that formed the [illegible] the; the

ble; a circumstance arising not solely from defect of choice, but because the more sensible appetites, through the walks of Prostitution, the riot dissolution of the country, and improvements of knowledge, were barred to all who had not passports from Industry, Innocence, or Taste.

Their camp was a scene of disease and wretchedness; of feverish restlessness and sickly intoxication, protracted by frequent draughts of an hot and sweet poison with which they were abundantly supplied from the sources in the adjacent plains; and though they readily knew to be *vulgar Amusements*, they greedily swallowed for *public spirit*.

The carcasses of those who perished from disease, or under the artillery of the Hill, their leaders piled in heaps that should facilitate their own ascent; a practice studiously concealed from the survivors, who, on this account, were strictly confined to their encampment.

Among these leaders there was one, whom *Rebel* called *Ambition*, and who fix'd me by a gaze the most unutterable I have ever seen;—which, while it fascinated the eye like the gaze of a rattlesnake, repelled the affections like the touch of a torpedo. Like the face of Medusa, every feeling of pleasure vanished. It was the index of malice in its most diabolical sublimity: refin from all the vivid expression of human malevolence: the frown, the scowl, the sneer, breaking through the deformity of a distorted countenance: the fierce malignant brightness which lighted up the features of the lineless face, when but few paces fell from their confidence. From the painful sensation which this smile produced, I was roused by a bustle in the camp, announcing the arrival of the

Genius

Genius *Ainap*;* in whom I quickly recognised my ruſtic orator, the courſe of whoſe eloquence had been ſo whimſically diverted by the prevalence of Rekub. His reception was ſuch as marked him for a Chief of note amongſt the Factions;—from whoſe camp my attention was now drawn by a company of men, who having aſcended the Hill by the legitimate roads, but being unable to keep pace with ſome of their fellows, or having ſlipped and fallen in their aſcent, ſeceded in diſguſt, and formed a groupe upon the rocks which overhung the camp. From thence they held an intercourſe with thoſe below; lending the hand to ſome to aſſiſt them in climbing up, and cheering all with the language of encouragement;—while ſome amongſt them leaped, in a ſeeming frenzy, from the precipice, and were caught by thoſe beneath with ſhouts of exultation.

Time not permitting to dwell longer on this ſcene, we turned to aſcend the Hill, and advanced towards a building, ſituated midway between its baſe and ſummit.—It was raiſed upon a level ſpot, and the face of the edifice, its dome and portico, reminded me of ſomething I had ſeen elſewhere.†

As we approach'd the building, *Rekub* thus addreſſed me.—"To level this hill would be fruitleſs "toil; if ſuch were indeed the intention of the "factious. The ſoil we tread is pregnant with an "active principle, which would ſpeedily throw up "another eminence in its ſtead.—But much ſkill "has been ſucceſsfully employ'd to adapt the preſ"ſent mound to the purpoſes of ſociety, and the "ſecurity of national felicity. I ſhould therefore "regret

* The ſolution of this anagram I alſo leave to the ingenuity of my readers.
† The Parliament Houſe.

" regret its deſtruction. I ſhould grieve to loſe
" thoſe improvements of art, which muſt periſh in
" its fall; and ſhould mourn the precarioufneſs of
" human proviſions, when I beheld Inequality
" reſtored, by a rude and monſtrous heap, thruſt
" forth by nature to ſupply its place;—deſtitute of
" thoſe conveniencies, and ſocial ornaments, which
" the gradual art of ages had produced.

" The heighths on which we ſtand are of volca-
" nick origin.—They were raiſed in the ſtruggles,
" and heated expanſion of human violence; and
" in early times, were alternately the ſeat of con-
" flicting force, and arbitrary Power. But the ex-
" plofions are no more; and nothing can be ſeen
" but verdure and fertility.—Nay thoſe deſolating
" floods which overran its ſides, have ultimately
" ſerved to connect the hill with the adjoining
" country; and break the inacceſſible abruptneſs
" of its precipices, to acclivities of eaſier aſcent to
" thoſe, who approach it from the territories that
" lye beneath.

" Look round upon the iſland. Except thoſe
" tedious and peſtilential flats, which are ranged
" by the tumultuous hordes of Faction, how gra-
" dual the deſcent from its ſummit to its ſides!—
" What eaſy acceſs can Freedom have to every
" the remoteſt corner of her demeſnes—through
" the ſmooth and connecting paths of ſubordina-
" tion!——But let us not be deceived in the ob-
" jects of the factious:—they do *not* wiſh to demo-
" liſh,—but to occupy:—not to diſmantle the fort-
" reſs,—but to garriſon it themſelves. not to
" level the hill of government; but to hurl Liber-
" ty from her throne, and ſet up Deſpotiſm in her

 ſtead

" ſtead.*—I ſpeak of the leaders:—the thoughtleſs
" multitude is guiltleſs of deſign. Their crime
" extends not beyond the ſavageneſs of the mo-
" ment. They are frequently as innocent of the
" ends they bring about, as the inſtrument which
" is uſed to perpetrate a murder. The explosion
" of *their* violence does but carry home the miſ-
" chief, which engineers of faction point againſt
" the ſtate."

Whilſt he ſpoke we had arrived; and on entering the Temple, were again cheared with the preſence of *Liberty*. She was occupied in ſuperintending the affairs of the iſland, which were adminiſtered by three Vicegerents that ſat beneath,† whoſe countenances were contraſted with ſingular variety. In that of the firſt, beneath an air of great dignity, and a certain look of demerous promptneſs, there lurked ſome traces of caprice and cruelty. The ſecond denoted large views, and lofty ſentiments; nice honour, refined delicacy, and liberal intelligence; blended in that ſaft and tranquil air, which betrays a ſafe and languid inactivity of temper; but it was blemiſhed with ſomewhat proud, ſelfiſh, jealous and diſtruſtful. The third, whilſt it beamed with ſpirit and activity, was diſgraced by a look of violence and ruſhneſs.

After theſe *three* had debated each meaſure amongſt themſelves, their diſquiſition ended in a *compromiſe*; and the reſulting decree was put in force by the *firſt*; but I could not obſerve, that with the Goddeſs who directed, any one of theſe Deputies was an object of greater favour than the reſt.

How

* See Number 7. † Monarchy, Ariſtocracy, and Democracy.

How much farther I ſhould have proceeded in my ſlumbering obſervations, I know not, if I had not been ſtartled by a confuſed cry of "*the Dome is on fire!*"* when raiſing my head, I found, that as I nodded careleſsly, my hair had taken fire at a candle which lay near me, and my ſervant (though a Frenchman) was employed in ſtifling the flames.

* This paper was written not long after the Dome of the PARLIAMENT-HOUSE had taken fire.

## NUMBER VII.

### SATURDAY, AUGUST 4, 1792.

CALIBAN. { "*Freedom, hey day! hey day! free-*
"*dom!*
"*Freedom, hey day! freedom!*"

STEPHANO { "*O brave Monſter*——LEAD THE
"WAY!"

TEMPEST.

WHAT Stephano addreſſed to the patriotic Caliban, I am inclined to apply to the adherents of Jacobiniſm. When Liberty was deified by honeſt and enlightened men, they appropriated to her no attributes ſubverſive of good order, deſtructive of humanity, or incompatible with reaſon and with duty. Of ſuch a rational and moral freedom as they adored, I ſhall willingly go in ſearch; I ſhall willingly import from diſtant nations, this worthy object of human devotion, and place her with reſpect in the citadel of my country;—but where may ſhe be found?

It is not enough ye Canibals (I ſhould ſay Calibans) of France, that you bellow freedom in our ears, if ye will not acquaint us in what form of Government ſhe dwells. Direct us, ye Manuels,

and

ye Chabots, and Robertſpierres, in that ſearch for Liberty, which you preſcribe.

O brave monſters!—lead the way."

I ſhall be anſwered that you do;—but I will never attend to extravagant ſentiments, belched out in the drunkenneſs of new-gotten power, or to ſimulatory declarations of thoſe poor ſlaves, who, in boaſting of their liberties, are trembling for their lives; who know, that for a ſingle moderate expreſſion, they muſt pay the forfeit with their heads. Ceaſe, then, ye Jacobins, to bellow for that Liberty which ye know not where to find. For thee, O Robertſpierre! thou not degenerate blood of D'Amiens—tread in the ſanguinary ſteps of thy uncle*—this is nature:—"*Purge the earth of Royalty*" if you will, but let not ſuch lips pollute the name of Freedom.

I will not look for Freedom in your country, nor take you for my guides; I will not hope, that amidſt pillage and aſſaſſinations, impiety to Heaven, and inſult towards magiſtrates, amidſt deſolation and anarchy; the mad rage of a deſpotic rabble, and the cold and diſciplined cruelty of a political Inquiſition, (which your Committee of Reſearch is,) that amidſt theſe horrors, the mild genius of a regulated Liberty has choſen her abode. I will never believe that a nation, where thoſe who utter their opinions are put to death, *is free*; or that a country, in which thoſe are eaten who are killed, is *rational and civilized*.

If my readers wiſh to ſee the ſpirit of an orderly and uſeful Liberty embodied into practice, I refer them

* D'Amiens, the aſſaſſin who ſtabbed Louis XV.

them to the Conſtitution of their country. If they would contemplate it in a ſtate of pure, and theoretic, ſimplicity, they muſt ſoar for it through the ſubtleties of analyſis and abſtraction. Aſcending from the ſolidity of natural reaſon, to the airineſs of metaphyſical acuteneſs, they will in their courſe, perceive, that it is not the Liberty of doing what we will which is deſirable: that the Freedom which may be cheriſhed, muſt be circumſcribed, and the bounds be ſought for, not in *wiſhes*, but in *duties*: that of ſolitary individuals, it is only the madman whoſe liberty is unqualified; *that* of the wiſe being bounded by their ſenſe; nay, that, ſtrictly ſpeaking, of neither is of freedom unreſtrained, ſince, if the ſage is governed by reaſon, the fool is tyrannized by will.

In the further progreſs of reſearch they find, that *abſolute freedom* is hardly to be diſtinguiſhed from *abſolute power*; that abſolute power, unaccompanied by goodneſs and wiſdom co-extenſive, would be a curſe; and that theſe concomitant perfections are not to be ſought for in human nature.

That, therefore, the ſupreme authority in a State ſhould be a pure energy, extracted from conflicting and controlling powers; ſomething extraneous to the vice and follies of our nature.

In this over-ruling ſupremacy alone, (which hovers o'er the State without mingling in its pow'rs) can that *unqualified freedom* which identifies with it, that volatile eſſence of abſtract Liberty reſide. But take away the harmony of oppoſitions, of checks, and mutual compromiſe, place in any body of the State that ſupreme power (which is the ſame

thing

thing with ſupreme liberty) which ſhould be extrinſic to them all, the active ſpirit burſts in miſchievous exploſions; it evaporates in their follies, and is polluted by their crimes.

Supreme power placed *in one*, is deſpotiſm. Placed out of them, *in the reſulting energy of balanced powers*, it is good Government, and may be ſeen in the Britiſh conſtitution.

Deſpotiſm does not change its nature as it ſhifts its place;—lodge it with the People, or lodge it with the Prince, it ſtill is deſpotiſm. A *ſimple* Monarchy—a *ſimple* Oligarchy—a *ſimple* Democracy—are all deſpotic Governments.

The "Natural Rights of Man," the "Sacred Power of the People," interpreted as they are by thoſe who write upon them, mean nothing more than that *right of ſtrength*, which is the moſt ſavage and rudimental authority ſet up by Nature for the government of Man;—yet "Rights of Man"—"Will of the Nation"—are a magic formula, at which thoſe bend the knee, who would ſhrink from a philoſophy that ſhould found on *ſtrength* its claims to legitimate authority.

It may be ſaid, that *abſolute power* can exiſt only in the Deity; and this, abſtractedly ſpeaking, is true; but I uſe the term only to denote a power conſiſtent with our nature, and *abſolute* to all purpoſes of ſway, within that Government in which it is found.

In a *State*, the power is *abſolute*, where, whilſt one part governs, the others have no controul;—and to prevent this *abſoluteneſs* from being a curſe, there

there would be wanting in thoſe who govern, virtue and wiſdom, commenſurate with their power, and incompatible with their nature.

Rouſſeau, in his "*Contrat Social*." ſomewhere ſays, that a "Democracy" (which is one ſpecies of the abſolute Governments) "would be a fit Go-"vernment for *a people of Gods*;"—true:—ſo would a Monarchy—ſo would an Ariſtocracy.

In a word, (for it all amounts to no more than this)—with a people that requires NO Government, ANY Government will anſwer.

I ſhall purſue theſe ſpeculations in my next.

NUMBER

## NUMBER VIII.

## SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1792.

*Moderatio tuendæ libertatis, dum æquari velle Simulando, ita ſe quiſque extollit ut deprimat alium, in difficili eſt: cavendoque ne metuant homines, metuendos ultro ſe efficiunt; et injuriam a nobis repulſam, tanquam aut facere aut pati neceſſe ſit, injungimus aliis.*

LIVY, lib. 3. c. 65.

SUCH ſpeculations as thoſe which I gave the reader in my laſt, contain in them but the ſeeds and rudiments of practice. They are a ſort of raw material, requiring induſtry and ſkill to be employed upon them, before they can be wrought to practical concluſions. To the proſperity of this ideal as of all other manufactures, the *diviſion of labour* is eſſentially neceſſary. Whilſt one mind rears the theory, another ſhould fabricate the practice. The firſt of theſe taſks I conceive to be mine, and the ſecond I look on to be my readers. Yet as opinions muſt undergo ſome ſhort proceſs with myſelf, before they are handed over to the examination of others, I am for this purpoſe to proceed.

In the caſe of private and youthful individuals, we ſhould deſpiſe an attempt to apply to all indiſcriminately, one ſettled plan of educatory government; without attending to varieties of temper and diſpoſition,—of bodily ſtrength, and intellectual powers in each; nay to thoſe more trivial and extrinſic circumſtances, that tend to mould the individuals character, or are likely to influence his future lot.—And ſhall that attention which is paid to individuals, be denied to nations? Though to ſome of thoſe influences the nation in all its individuals will be ſubject; whilſt to others, from which individuals are exempted, the maſs of the nation is in return expoſed. The characters and circumſtances of nations will vary like thoſe of individuals amongſt themſelves;* and this variouſneſs will, in both caſes, require a variety of treatment to correſpond. One education will not ſuit all men, nor one government all nations.

As a circumſtance which, ſpeaking generally, affects the nation and its individuals; (the integral number and its fractions), climate may be given: Whoſe effect upon a people, whether to ſoften, or invigorate, will be the aggregate of its effects, upon individuals, in theſe reſpects; and the nerve which is admired and dreaded in the nation, may be ſeen, and felt, in the hardy individual. To inſtance what will operate upon a people, without



* Language itſelf, in the variety of its idioms, points out to us the exiſtence of national peculiarities. "Different countries (ſays Blair) "have been noted for peculiarities of ſtyle, ſuited to their different tem- "per and genius. The eaſtern nations animated their ſtyle with the "moſt ſtrong and hyperbolical figures. The Athenians, a poliſhed and "acute people, formed a ſtyle accurate, clear, and neat. The Aſiatics, "gay and looſe in their manners, affected a ſtyle florid and diffuſe. "The like ſort of characteriſtical differences are commonly remarked in "the ſtyle of the French, the Engliſh, and the Spaniards."

out affecting its members in detail, may be mentioned thoſe ſituations in point of territory or population, which while upon individuals their operation is imperceptible, produce in the whole body a formidable ſenſe of power, attended with an active valour; and hoſtile confidence of character which makes them—

" While their *rocky ramparts* round they ſee,
" The rough abode of want, and liberty,"
(As lawleſs force from confidence will grow),
" Inſult the plenty of the vales below."*

To conſider nearly the ſame ſubject in a ſomewhat different point of view; if we agree, that, " 'tis education forms the youthful mind," it is to be obſerved, that from the moment of our birth, nature is training us up, and moulding our characters with more inceſſant and effectual aſſiduity, than can be expected from the cares of men. To this *natural education*, that of men muſt be *in part* ſubordinate, and partly directed to counteracting its effects.

Nor has nature a leſs ſhare in forming the manners of nations, than thoſe of individuals, and diſplays great variety in her modes of educating each; ſoil and climate are amongſt the teachers ſhe employs for delivery of her precepts; theſe were the tutors which taught war to Scythia, and commerce to Phænicia, Aſtronomy to Babylon, and Geometry to Egypt.

To this tutelage of nature, forms of government ſhould correſpond. They need a variety and di-

 rection

* Gray.—See to the ſame purpoſe, a paſſage in Livy, lib. 9. c. 13. " in montibus vicetim habitantes, campeſtria & maritima loca, cum" tempto culturum nullius, atque, ut evenit ferè, loci fœcili genere, ipſi " montani, atque agreſtes depopulabantur."

rection that will suit with the modes, will promote the useful and restrain the evil tendencies of nature; treading in her foot-steps, and checking her career. For 'tis observable of nature, that she begins by being our *guide*, and ends in being our *tempter*; that after putting us in the road, she seduces us to pass the proper limits of our journey; witness the near neighbourhood between wants, and passions; the satisfaction of our appetites and indulgence of our intemperance: what is vice in general, but excess? But exclusive of that variety with which nature contrasts her modes of national education, and the consequent peculiarities which discriminate nations, there is also one general pupillage in which she holds, and discipline with which she marshalls the whole *human race*; and of this, which is paramount to all national distinctions, and extends indifferently over all mankind, no government that is regardless, can be good. On the contrary, by contemplating this system, we can fix a certain broad and fundamental principles that shall (with no more exceptions than must be involved in all generalities) apply to every age and people. As circumstantial differences fit government to each tint of *national disposition*, these wide principles shall adapt it to the essence of *human character*. In the doctrines I have laid down will be seen the merits of mixed government; and in the history of the world will be found the accidence of nature.

As mankind comes from the hand of nature, a mass of conflicting interests and wishes, government, whose task is to terminate those conflicts, and the extent of whose authority is over all, should consist *in the energy of balanced powers*. For unless each party whose interests will be affected, names

names an arbitrator to join in the award, no security is had that the award shall be impartial: that from the interests of *all*, shall be extracted happiness for *the whole*: that oppositions shall be blended in just proportions, so that in their fermentation they will be neutralized; and subside to the softness of equitable compromise.

Indeed if the clash of interests could be silenced at the will of man, this *poise* might not be requisite to the perfection of governments: men should first bring about a coalition of interests, and might then submit them to a *simple* government: but the former being impossible, the latter is inexpedient.

Governments are but contrivances of art; and art should always follow nature. Therefore the attempt to eradicate interests *which are the growth of nature*; to pull down that aristocracy *which nature rears*; and level to an *artificial equality*, those prominences with which *she* has broken the uniformity of our race is an enterprize not suited to the competence of art. The regulations of men must operate subordinately to the institutes of nature. What *she* has created, *man* cannot annihilate, be it in the physical, or *moral* world. She supplies indeed the means of checking her own excesses; and shews that towards constructing a salutary scheme of government, those interests and powers which *she* has furnished, *must* be skilfully opposed, and nicely ballanced.

But though interests *should* clash, yet if vice did not predominate, as governments would be superfluous, so they might be *simple*. From the prevalence of vice, and the modes of its operation, arise

arise the necessity for government, and expediency of ballance. We must not forget that vices rage; and that government is remedial. It is a mound which the divinity of human reason has flung upon the enormity of human violence; and the efforts of sedition are the quakings of this Typhon.

Nay the delight with which we cherish the idea of a golden age,* (when no interests were at variance, and when governments were simple) might perhaps be found to spring, if its causes were analysed, from the view of that *innocence* which then dignified our species. Innocence, which though it were not expresly noticed, we should be forced to presume. 'Tis the basis for our belief of the modes of life which then prevaled; but which we feel to be incompatible with the depravity that surrounds us. Their incongruity with guilt proves its absence when they flourished; and we admire them because they are now become impracticable.

Life was then a state of goods, and of enjoyments: it is now a state of evils and their cures. Human safety then reposed upon the bosom of human virtue; but now seeks to be secured within the fastnesses of power. Few of the sources, and none of the mischiefs of *inequality* then existed. The very seeds and rudiments of future variance; the elemental *meum* and *tuum* were unknown.† So long as we contemplate this happy period, we are abstracted from all ideas of pollution; and feast on visionary scenes of virtue. The then *moral* world as little resembled, as did the *natural*, what these

* However varied and distorted, yet this tradition of a period of innocence and felicity amongst mankind, is chanted to us by the chorus of confuting antiquity.

† The security of property is according to Locke the primary end o civil government.

theſe reſpectively are at preſent. Then in the mind of man

*Ver erat eternum, placidique tepentibus auris*
*Mulcebant Zephyri natos ſine ſemine Flores.*

The ſenſe of which lines, tranſlation may thus extend:—

Then ſpring eternal reign'd: on ſoftering gales,
O'er Flora's ſeedleſs † pomp, mild Zephyr ſails;
*Mind's* pure ſerene knew then no boiſterous gloom;
But paſſion fann'd ſpontaneous virtue's bloom.

Theſe were the periods a republic would have ſuited. That government which was not wanted, needed not to be *complex*. Ere the malady appeared, the antidote was needleſs: till vice began to rage, mixed government was unneceſſary.

But this is not the golden age; and of the merits of an eſtabliſhment we might conclude, from *fitneſs* then, *unfitneſs* now. Retrieve O! man your priſtine virtue, and *then* demand a *ſimple* government. But when from *theſe* you are about to chuſe, conſider if between them, there be juſt grounds for preference: reflect, that when the age was golden, the government was monarchic.

But to return: The vice and inequality inherent in mankind make it neceſſary that in every conſtitution there be *mixture*: but tho' round this fixed and central principle whoſe roots are in the primary qualities of our nature, all forms of government ſhould ever ſwing; thoſe forms will yet ſafely admit of being varied. In human nature

† I am tranſlating Ovid;—not Linnæus.

ture, and human happineſs, we ſee the foundation, and end of government. To the eſſential qualities, and accidental varieties of nature, it ſhould poſſeſs immutable elements, and varied combinations, that will reſpectively correſpond: as nature is no where ſeen wholly decompounded, I will aſſert that no government ſhould be totally unmixed: one whoſe ſpirit is compromiſe; one which ſuppoſes the variety and antitheſis of intereſts, and beſtows protecting powers upon each, is that for which human reaſon and experience, after an attentive examination of human nature, loudly call: but the reſpective vigour of thoſe apponent powers, which are the rank and ſpontaneous produce of our nature, and the proportion which they bear, each to each will in different ſituations be found to vary, and modes of government muſt vary correſpondently: the ſyſtem of cultivation muſt be ſuited to the ſoil.

Nature muſt give the weights with which government ſtrikes the ballance. The leading features of a government may be popular, ariſtocratic, or monarchical, and the government, under each ſhape, may be a good one: but compromiſe is the vital particle by which it ſubſiſts, and ſhould ſtill tranſmigrate through all its forms.

## NUMBER IX.

## SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1792.

*Mutato nomine de te*
*Fabula narratur.*

HAVING met, in a pamphlet named *Rights of Citizens*, a fable which ſeems worthy to be reſcued from oblivion, I have thought proper to ſnatch it from the obſcurity in which it languiſhed, and ſhare with it the immortality to which my works aſpire.

It is called the *Rights of Waters*; and my readers, for whoſe amuſement I this day produce it, will find it a fit match for *the fable of the Rights of Men*.

## RIGHTS OF WATERS,

### A FABLE.

In I know not what century after the flood, (the reader may look into Blair's Chronology), a ſpirit of tumult and philoſophy is ſaid to have moved

upon the face of the waters. Rivers, which merely from want of reflection, had been quietly running within their banks for ages, discovered themselves to be in such a state of depravity as required a recurrence to first principles for its cure: and *Rights of Waters* were making a rapid progress through the globe. It was argued, that this confinement within banks, was a restraint they had heedlessly imposed upon themselves, contrary to the liberal intentions of nature. They were created fountains, with *equal natural rights*, and deemed it expedient to *go back to their sources*, as the only means of accurate investigation. They could not see why some particles of water should be *thrust down* by others no better than themselves. Their *forerunners*, it is true, had been submitting to this coercion time out of mind; but what was this to them? The rights of *living* waters must not be thus controuled and sported away. Divisions of water into lakes and rivers, springs and puddles, they unanimously decried as mere *civil distinctions*, and pushed their researches to that early period, *when water came from the hands of its maker. What was it then? Water; water was its high and only title.**

Now a rumour went, that in the time of *Noah*, a great aquatic revolution had taken place, when all things were reduced to a philosophic *level*. Beneath the sanction of which precedent, it was agreed on by the rivers, that they would not any longer be imprisoned within banks, nor driven headlong in one direction at the arbitrary will of fountains

* "If we proceed on, we shall at last come out right: we shall assert "to the time when Man came from the hands of his Maker: What was "he then? *Man!* Man was his high, and only title."

Paine's Rights of Man.

fountains, but would *shed their last drop* in asserting *the rights of Waters*.

*Obscure* as to his origin, *ungovernable* in his temper, and *a leveller* in principles, *Nilus* led the way; and the land of Egypt was covered with an inundation. Every *cultivated inequality* was overwhelmed, and all distinctions levelled to uniformity. Nature was supposed to have resumed her rights, and philosophy admired the grand simplicity of ruin. When lo! the tide of tumult ebbed; and *eminences* were seen to get *their heads above water:* the party was daily continuing *to gain ground*, and all things tended to a counter-revolution. What had first been deemed the effort of enlightened virtue, was now looked on as the rush of inconsiderate violence. What originally seemed calculated to further the views of nature, was now seen to be directed in opposition to her will; whilst events had been meantime suggesting her omnipotence: that to combat her was dangerous, and to conquer her impossible.

Such was the result, and the moral of this enterprise:—his forces all subdued, now languid and impoverished, the Nile was retreating imperceptibly to his channel; whilst Egypt groaned with luxuries, and was overran by monsters, the copious and rank produce of this watery revolution.

## NUMBER X.

## SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1792.

*"I feel an insuperable reluctance in giving my hand*
*" to destroy any established institution of government, upon*
*" a theory, however plausible it may be."*
*Mr. Burke's speech on Mr. Fox's East India bill.*

*"Slaying is the word;*
*It is a deed in fashion."*
*Shakspeare, Julius Cæsar.*

I NEVER can contemplate that blood-stained web, which mobs* and Jacobins have conspired to weave, without shuddering at its horrors, and lamenting its advancement; and can scarcely forbear exclaiming to my countrymen,

" See the grisly texture grow!
" 'Tis of human entrails made;
" And the weights that play below,
" Each a gasping warrior's head:"

" Shafts, for shuttles, dipp'd in gore,
" Shoot the trembling cords along;

" *Sword,*

* The Gothick term for what we now call *the People*; derived from *mobile*, a latin word, signifying *movable*, or *inconstant*.

"*Sword, that ever a Monarch bore,*
"Keep the tiſſue cloſe and ſtrong*."

Indeed the merit of thoſe motives which firſt ſtirred the maſs of French, or final tendency of thoſe tumults which now ſhake their country, I confeſs to be a queſtion whoſe immenſity overwhelms me. From the exploſions of this chaos a ſyſtem of beauty may perhaps ſtart forth. What *may* be the event my dim ſight cannot diſcern; what *have* been the evils one is not left to doubt: I have means to know, and humanity to regret them.

To France I wiſh happineſs, and freedom, moſt ſincerely. The accumulation of her knowledge has contributed to my improvement. I connect her with all that is uſeful in ſcience, or elegant in literature. Happineſs, I muſt believe to be the object of her ſearch; and, through conqueſt, or defeat, I wiſh her to attain it.

Nay to that inflexible ſupporter of democracy, whoſe tenets are a model for the *reigning* patriots of France, to Rouſſeau, I am far, very far from being an enemy. By his glowing eloquence I have been warmed; by his luminous penetration I have been enlightened; by his pathetick powers I have been moved. By his ſyſtems I may perhaps have been deluded; by the burſts of his philanthropy I have certainly been improved. Let me not refuſe this tribute to his memory; nor conceal that I have ſhrunk from the condemnation of his faults; and have even ſheeped his diſgraces in my ſeam: let me not diſavow the perſuaſion which I feel, that

Rouſſeau

* Gray.

Rouſſeau was a man of a benevolent heart. Even now 'tis with reluctance that I check that indiſcriminate admiration of his ſentiments, which kindled and aroſe from the ardour of my zeal; and admit that to be paradox, which I had reverenced for truth; but let thoſe who think him right in his ſpeculations upon government, *declare* if he be right in his notions on religion.

But though I ſympathize with the miſeries, and wiſh the happineſs of France, I look upon her as the *germ* of a great example. Let *us* wait till that example ſhall have been completed: let us wait the "great teacher," Time,* for his deciſion; nor be haſty to import the *reality* of miſchief, as materials for conſtructing a *contingency* of benefit. Let us heſitate to blame the French, or to commend them: let us feel for their misfortunes; rejoice at their proſperity; and profit by their fate.

The experimentaliſt *in mechanicks*,† who deſerting precedent, ſpeculates upon bold and hazardous improve-

* Opinionum commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat.—It may not be improper here to remark, that the admiration of the French for their preſent form of government, (aſſuming the fact to be that they hold it in admiration) will hardly warrant a concluſion in its favour. Nations, like individuals, have their peculiar weakneſſes, which in both caſes are often twined inſeparably with their virtues. Thus the French have need to *be admiring*; but their *admiration* organs are not perhaps faſtidious in the choice of food. Whilſt I was at Paris, my coachman drove me to *la rue St. Louis*. "C'eſt la plus belle du monde; à *Paris* "ſeulement, vous ne ſauriez trouver une pareille." At the end of the ſtreet he ſtopped, turning ſo, that from the ſide window I could look it up and down, waving his hand with an air of awful conviction, he juſt muttered the exclamation "ſuperbe!"—I looked up a ſtreet that was long and narrow, with mean houſes, bad pavement, the kennel in the middle, and the lamps hung as they uſually are at Paris. Now he, who upon the authority of the coachman, ſhould pronounce this to be the fineſt ſtreet in the world, would ſurely be miſtaken. For his part, after a ſhort ſtay, he turned about, as if he thought ſuch grand objects were not to be contemplated for too long a time, leſt they might ſhake the mind from its centre.

† See Mackintoſh's vindiciæ gallicæ.

improvement, loſes nothing, if he fails, but his time, and his materials: let him therefore venture. But of him who would ſpeculate in *matters of government* 'tis a duty to reflect, that the miſery of his ſpecies will be the conſequence of his miſcarriage. Therefore,

——" The art, and practic part of life
" Muſt be the miſtreſs to *this theorique*.*

But perhaps the tenuity of ſpeculative advantage will now harden to the palpable conſiſtency of experience: perhaps France is about to propoſe an example, which ſhall proſtrate my theories in favour of mixed government. If it turn out ſo, I ſhall ſubmit myſelf to this chaſtiſement of human pride; and pore humbly upon the leſſon of human fallibility. But let us wait 'till this leſſon be completed: let us wait 'till judgment, profiting by experience, ſhall reviſe her ſyſtem, and inſert the new diſcoveries in her intellectual chart; nor meantime prove rebels to that reaſon which ſhould guide us, and ſet up an *immature* example in her room.

The practice of the French has been, ever, to invent: of the Engliſh *to ſelect which experiment they will purſue*; often deliberately to follow where France led the way; and with accurate diſtruſt to improve upon her plans. Let us not, in a matter of ſuch moment as our liberties, reſign this national diſtinction of character; nor deviate from a caution which experience has ſhewn uſeful. The late experiments of the French in government reſemble their former attempts in aeroſtation: they have

* Shakſpeare Hen. 5.

have taught liberty to ſoar; but have not found means to guide it. 'Till this be done, ſuffer me to cling to my ancient tenets: to doubt to the prudence of raiſing a ferment in my country, in order to puff out, for the admiration of the vulgar, a flimſy form of government, which wiſdom cannot guide; but which our paſſions and our vices may blow which way they liſt.

Mix'd government, it is true, preſumes viciouſneſs in our nature; and its principles are partly founded in our frailty. It may be therefore thought to tend towards making durable that faultineſs on which 'tis built; to foſter the exiſtence of what it ſuppoſes to exiſt. Accuſtomed to trace its axioms to our imperfections, we may contract a pernicious familiarity with evil: we may be led to conſider it as eſſential to our nature: and decline eradicating which ſeems entwined with the ſocial beauties of cultivated life; what, inſerted in the crevices of a venerable conſtitution, holds that edifice together, which at firſt it ſerved to looſen. When we ſee barriers thrown up againſt tyranny in Princes, faction in the great, and violence in the people, we may think tendencies to tyranny, to violence, and faction, reſpectively the rights of theſe reſpective deſcriptions.

But if the principles of mix'd government preſume on our depravity, it is equally true that they tend to counteract it. Though they ſeem to countenance that broad baſed ſelfiſhneſs which ſets different ranks at variance with each other, yet they do not ſatisfy the exorbitance of its claims. They will not permit extortion. They force parties to ſoften mutually the rigour of their demands. They teach

teach intereſt, moderation; and extract equity from conflict.

Indeed the principles of mix'd government in this reſpect correſpond with the principles of all municipal law. They are alike expoſed to the objections I have ſtated. They contemplate the exiſtence, and provide againſt the conſequence of human wickedneſs. They preſume our frailty; and promote our virtue.

If mix'd governments, after all, are relatively faulty, the ſimple ones on the other hand are radically defective; and in every thing human, our choice is between evils. Mix'd government aſſumes nothing but what certainly exiſts: it is rear'd upon ſteady and ſubſtantial realities; but when ſpeculation has plan'd the ſtructure of a ſimple government, where ſhall we find that virtue which muſt ſerve it for a baſe? Law cannot be ſupreme in a government uncompounded. To the *law* as to the *man* that ſeeks to govern, the counſel of "*divide*, et *impera*" will apply.

Therefore ſteadily perſiſting in that preference of mix'd governments, which is founded at once upon reaſon and experience; and abating nothing in my praiſe of our Britiſh Conſtitution, it will not be foreign from the purpoſe of this paper, nor inconſiſtent with the general object of thoſe eſſays, to touch upon that *right of petition in the ſubject*, which the principles of the Britiſh Conſtitution have conferred: a right than which none is more neceſſary, or more dangerous: neceſſary, in order to produce a ballance; and dangerous, becauſe ſo liable to be abuſed.

The conſtituent members of the Britiſh nation, (ſay the King, the Ariſtocracy, and the people) have, each, a *right* to ſo much *power*, as will preſerve the ballance between them all. More than this is not a right, but an uſurpation: an encroachment upon the rights of the nation at large; and therefore, in fact, pernicious to the intereſt *of the very party which uſurps*; conſidered as a fragment of the whole community. Towards defining of ſubordinate and *partial* rights, we muſt therefore keep in view the right *paramount* in *all*, to have that ballance undiſturbed, whoſe ſlighteſt unpoiſation is formidable to publick ſafety.

With this principle for our guide, we ſhall eaſily find the limits of *the ſubject's right of petition*. As ſoon as the petition is clearly a *demand*, a *bellum guerra*, a war of importunity: ſo ſoon as the petitioners begin to threaten as they approach the throne before the *legal* hearing of applications whoſe treacherous intention, and abſurd authority revive the chimerical claims of a tyranny long extinct;—ſo ſoon as the *legiſlature* may ſay to its petitioners, the language of *Cæſar to the ſupplicants who took his life*, "that petition we will not hear:" the moment the ballance is deſtroyed; the conſtituent proportions are diſtorted to deformity; the ſymmetry of *right* is grown the monſtroſity of power; and the act which in *form* is *law*, is in *fact* treaſon.

With the foregoing remarks upon a petition which ſome late proceedings have made intereſting, I chooſe to terminate this collection. It only remains to make the reader my adieu; which with

* Suetonius in vitâ Jul. Cæs. c. 82.

ther they be final, or only temporary; whether our correſpondence be ſuſpended, or broken off; whether our ſeparation be of long, or ſhort continuance, may depend on the reception with which theſe eſſays meet. I have made my viſit; the publick may cultivate an acquaintance if they will.

But as to the proper mode of taking leave, no reaſonable doubt can, I think, be entertained; for, (to ſlide into a meaſure of more ſuitable importance,) whether I ſhall live to cenſure, and to fame; or be doomed to ſuffer ſilence, and neglect upon the ſpot; my laſt duties, as a writer, will be ſtill the ſame.

In the one caſe, I ſhould ſeek to make an uſeful end; and ſhould call for that religious attention from my hearers, which is due to the laſt words of an expiring author. In the other caſe, thoſe lines which fall leaſt from my pen will ſurely not be the laſt to meet my reader's eye; whoſe impatience will be glancing towards that *leaf* at which it aims; and ſhould there diſcover ſomething by which attention may be caught.

I ought therefore, in any event, to ſhape my adieux to aphoriſms; and ſprinkle my latter pages with inſtruction.

Adieu! then *gentle* reader; and hearken to the counſels which I offer to your *gentleneſs*:

You muſt not call *unqualified liberty* a good, 'till you ſhew wherein it differs from *unbridled power*.

You must not think that *change* and *reformation* are synonymous; nor, reversing the old fable, lose the *shadow*, for the *substance*, of despotick power. You must not bring angelick governments from heaven, to inhabit the grosr atmosphere of human pollution. You must not, from dislike of that government which you *have* seen, infer capacity of fondness for that which you have *not* seen. If the ardour of your youth be panting for perfection, and the richness of your fancy teem with systems of reform, know that in all objects where imagination is infused, its operation is to precipitate their dregs; and refine them to a purity, that is beautifully unnatural: but this decomposition prudence may prevent; or experience will restore things to muddiness, and nature. If possession has hitherto justified desire, continue to hope zealously; and to make your caprice the measure of your conduct; but if your hopes have made a void, which your enjoyments could not fill; from knowledge of what's past, learn doubt of what's to come. Enjoy hope as a *present* benefit: pluck those blossoms which will never grow to fruits. Form your temper upon hope; and your conduct on experience. Adopt it for a maxim, (to frown down restlessness withall), that disappointment is man's lot; and resignation is his duty:

While Folly pines for bliss that Heaven denies,
Contented Wisdom what is given enjoys;
To distant heights tho' soaring Hope aspire,
And, in bright visions, Fancy tempt Desire,
Of Hope, Experience checks the erring flight;
And hues of Fancy fade in reason's light:
For, seen from far, with crimson bright, and gold,

As

As ev'ning clouds their glittering ſkirts unfold,
(Dipp'd in the ſplendours of declining day,)
Which, when approach'd, are miſt, and vapour gray;
Thus, objects oft, by flattering Fancy dreſt,
At diſtance bright, are vapour when poſſeſs'd.

FINIS.

A [illegible] cloud their glittering skirts unfold,
(Dipp'd in the splendours of declining day)
Which, when approach'd, are mist, and vapour
[illegible]

The [illegible] oft, by flattering Fancy wrought,
As distance brightens, [illegible] when sought.

FINIS.

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